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THE LAST DITCH

AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY
NOW CHARGES "CON-
SPIRACY."

Trying to Prove That the Textile Workers Received Financial Aid from Independent Mills—Strikers Laught at the Assertion.

Providence, R. I., June 27.—Leaders among the striking weavers of Olneyville and manufacturers connected with independent mills in this State were very carefully examined yesterday at the law office of Constock & Gardner, as to any knowledge they might have concerning financial aid that may have been given the striking weavers by independent mill managers.

The testimony was taken before a master, appointed for the purpose of obtaining depositions from Rhode Island witnesses to be used in connection with the petition by the American Woolen Company for an injunction in Massachusetts to restrain the leaders of the strike in Fitchburg and Plymouth from hampering the company in its endeavors to get its mills in operation once more on a well-balanced basis.

The inquiry in behalf of the company was conducted by Attorney Sherman L. Whipple of Boston. The action is similar to that taken in this State when a temporary injunction was obtained last week. The purpose of taking the testimony is to have a temporary injunction in Massachusetts made permanent.

During the protracted strike of the weavers against the double-loom system there have been rumors that the strikers have received from other manufacturers substantial financial assistance in continuing the fight. It has been alleged that from some source the strike leaders were to receive \$1,000 for each mill brought out on strike, and \$500 per week while the strike in such mills was maintained. This has been denied by the strike leaders, and is by them declared to be unworthy of serious consideration.

Among the manufacturers examined yesterday were Walter A. Gulle of the Earningsville Mill at Olneyville; James H. Singleton, Treasurer of the Perseverance Worsted Mill at Woonsocket; John Simpson and James B. Kirkaldy of the firm of Simpson & Kirkaldy of Woonsocket; F. L. Bayles and William Tinkham of Pascoag.

Some of the witnesses were interviewed after the hearing. They said they were questioned as to the motive of the strike, which, they said, was against double-loom weaving of fancy goods.

One of them when asked if any other mills were doing work on this basis named the Dunn Mills. When he was asked why the weavers struck against it in the American Mills, and not at the Dunn Mills, he replied that the strike had been started in the American and he supposed the strikers deemed it expedient to first dispose of that struggle.

The manufacturers were questioned as to whether the strikers had solicited funds from them to continue the strike in the American Mills and they replied in the negative.

When asked if they knew of other independent manufacturers having been solicited to give funds for this purpose, they replied in the negative. They admitted that they had heard such rumors but had no knowledge that they were based on fact.

One of the witnesses who was asked if certain men formerly connected with the American Woolen Company had given money to aid the strikers, said he had heard gossip of that nature, but as to its correctness he had no knowledge.

The independent manufacturers interviewed after the hearing said they wanted the good will of the weavers, as they are essential to their business, but they had no desire to antagonize the American Woolen Company.

Peter McDermott of the strike committee, who was one of the witnesses summoned, was very much amused at the turn affairs have taken. "This is funny," he said, "After 23 weeks of the strike, during which our expenditures have been very small, the American Woolen Company thinks it has discovered that the independent mills have been contributing to our funds. They have not, as a fact, paid us a cent."

Counsel for the American Woolen Company had nothing to say yesterday concerning the objects of this issuing of a commission from Massachusetts for the taking of testimony in Rhode Island, said that Mr. Whipple, the Boston counsel, who is conducting the examination of witnesses, mentioned the word "conspiracy" in connection with the case.

It is said that the complainants are anxious to discover whether Messrs. Gulle & Waterhouse of the Earningsville Mills and others know anything about contributions to the funds of the strikers. The Earningsville Mill has been running on three shifts while the strike has been on against the American Woolen Company.

Mr. Waterhouse didn't appear yesterday, but Walter A. Gulle was sum-

moned and was put through a series of questions on the subject. He said after the examination was finished that he knew nothing whatever about any such contributions, that he had no dealings with the strikers and was in no way involved in the matter. In that he agreed with what Mr. McDermott of the union had to say on the same subject. Mr. Gulle said the strikers collected funds from those working in his mill, but he also said they made such collections from workers in American mills not on strike.

The Textile Union of Massachusetts for some reason or other, was not represented by counsel at this hearing, and all the questions that were asked went in without objection. Two members of the local union, however, George Ballard, who was summoned as Secretary, and Peter McDermott, who was summoned as President, both had their counsel, Thomas Curran, with them when they testified. Mr. Curran did not enter a formal appearance in the case, because his clients did not wish to accept the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts courts, and he was not present at any part of the hearing except that in which Messrs. McDermott and Ballard were examined.

The hearing started at 10 o'clock a. m. yesterday, and shortly after 1 o'clock was adjourned until 2:30 o'clock, after which it continued the remainder of the day. Mr. Ballard of the strikers was examined, and the early portion of his examination was with reference to the organization that has been carrying on the strike, its officers, and other information of a similar character.

Mr. Ballard declared that the Textile Union has no President, but its affairs are conducted by an executive committee. He also declared that the strike is not conducted by the Textile Union, but instead is conducted by the weavers, through a strike committee appointed by the weavers.

On the resumption of the examination at 2:30 some more pointed questions were asked, and the attempt was made to show that contributions had been made or that there had been some form of a conspiracy against the American Woolen Company.

Mr. Ballard denied that any contributions had been made by the independent mills. The examination of Mr. Ballard was quite lengthy, but that of Mr. McDermott lasted only 15 minutes. His replies were so promptly made, and so very much to the point that he was quickly dropped. When questioned as to his visits to other cities when strikes had been inaugurated, he said that he went simply to address the strikers. Asked why he was on the grievance committee of the strikers, he said it was probably because the blacklist would be of no effect against him. He denied any knowledge of an alleged offer of money which had been publicly stated, at a meeting, to have been made.

Mr. McDermott told a reporter after the hearing that the company appears to have a greatly exaggerated idea of the amount of money that had been required to maintain the strike. He said it would be surprising to people generally to know how little money was required, owing to the measures taken for the strikers to be self-supporting by working at other mills, in short shifts in some cases, and by finding employment in other lines, from which they earn enough to obtain the necessities of life while the struggle is in progress.

He also said it was apparent that some people have weird notions of the influences which are expressed to keep the weavers on strike, and declared with more vehemence that the only influence is that of universal determination not to work in mills which seek to extend the double-loom system to any work except plain work, white work known as piece dyes and serges.

The story of the corruption of the Minneapolis administration from the Mayor to practically every man on the police force, is an interesting confirmation of the fact that shades in politics count for nothing, that men count for nothing, but that the trouble is basic. The great scandal in Philadelphia, when the Quay ring gave away franchises to those who were to pay for them, and the corruption in New York, as shown all along the line, from the deposition of Asa Bird Gardner, and the subsequent disclosures of the new District Attorney, down to the trial of the latest police captain, conducted every Thursday by the Police Commissioner, have an affinity with the incidents in Minneapolis. All that has occurred bears the indelible blot of capitalism. The corruption and the extortion practiced by those who were formerly accustomed to purchase the right to collect taxes in a Roman province, are small, compared with what a capitalist party can and does do when in office.

The following story is going the rounds of the press: "The Missouri papers are telling this story of Mark Twain's recent visit to the State: A big crowd gathered at a railway station to meet him. A little boy knew that somebody was coming, but he did not know Mark Twain from Bossie Francis. This kid perceived himself on top of a freight car, where he could see what happened. The train rolled in and as Mark stepped off the people became excited and shouted, 'Here he is! Here he is!' The kid on the box car thought a great criminal had been caught and shouted, 'Git a rope! Git a rope!' Dr. Clemens laughed till the tears ran out of his eyes."

It shows that we not only teach the young idea how to shoot but also to



PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of lawless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his facilities, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

STRIKERS AGAINST STRIKERS.

Toronto, June 25.—Peace reigns again in this city, we are told by the newspapers, because the strike of the street railway employees has been settled. They struck for 18 cents an hour for the first year and 20 cents an hour for the second, and recognition of a grievance committee. The settlement allowed them 18 and 20 cents, and the cars to be cleaned for them in the morning. Each employee can appeal to the general manager in case of discharge, and bring any witnesses. This is a gain for the men.

The street railway men were badly duped for all that. A. E. Ames, the president of the Board of Trade, offered his services before and during the strike as a mediator, even going so far on the morning the strike was declared as to offer \$10,000 to the street railway men's benefit fund if there was no strike. What was the material interest at stake that prompted Mr. Ames' action and his activity during the strike? It was this: there are two factions in control of the Toronto street railway; one is represented by William Mackenzie, who is its president, and the other by George A. Cox, who has the controlling interest at present. It was Mr. Mackenzie's play to let the strike go on, then the stock would go down, and he, owing to his position,

would be able to buy it up, thereby getting full control.

To prevent that, George A. Cox pushed Mr. Ames forward, as chairman of the Board of Trade, to act as a mediator between the company and its employees, but who in reality is a heavy stockholder of the street railway company.

Is Mr. Cox's son-in-law. They live close together and have a private wire running between their residences. J. W. Flavell, another stockholder acted with Ames on the Board of Trade committee. Those men attended almost every meeting the men had immediately before and while the strike was on. Statements were made on the street that it was a fight between the stockholders and they were led to believe that they have won a great victory; also that they are greatly indebted to Mr. Ames and his Board of Trade committee for it. The latter are aided in this belief by Daniel Dillworthy, National Secretary of the Street Railway Employees' Association, who stated that he never saw such earnest, disinterested (sic) men, and told how they sat up every night helping the street railway employees in their negotiations with the company.

The company attempted to run cars Sunday. As a result there was rioting all over the city. The men who attempted to run the cars were handled

roughly and the cars were wrecked. Sunday afternoon 1,400 militia were ordered out to give Toronto working men their first illustrative lesson in the present class struggle. They were issued ten rounds of ball cartridges.

George A. Keys and Arthur Davies, the latter a sergeant in the Grenadiers, both members of Local 46, United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steamfitters on strike were ordered out. They put on red coats and went to assist in breaking the street car men's strike.

At the meeting Monday of the above local, a resolution was passed censuring the Minister of Militia, the Chief of Police, etc. It was pointed out to them that they would be making themselves ridiculous; that the time to act was on election day by voting for the Socialist Labor Party candidates, electing men of the working class to control such offices.

A George White, after saying that he was as good a union man as others, stated that he was called upon he would go too. Another had the manhood to say that if he was called out he would leave the city. This is the ridiculous, humiliating position which pure and simple trades unionism has got its members into in Toronto, where some who are on strike shoulder arms to shoot their brother members who are on strike, too;—out of existence if necessary.

IN IRELAND.

The Irishmen of Manchester have resolved at a public meeting in that city to subscribe ten thousand shillings for the Home Rule Parliamentary Fund. Commenting upon this, the "Evening Telegraph" of March 22nd, asked: "Why should not the men of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and other Irish cities follow this excellent example?"

We would answer that the workers of these Irish cities refuse to subscribe because they know their men too well, and the Irishmen of Manchester subscribe because they do not know their men well enough, but have to rely for their knowledge of them upon the crooked reports of the Home Rule press.

The Irishmen of Manchester read in the "Weekly Freeman" a three column report of a meeting of the United Irish League, and their hearts throb with pride as they peruse the thrilling periods of the orators for Faith and Fatherland.

Then they subscribe. The Irish worker in Dublin knows that the "great" meeting was held in a small room, and was attended only by the professional politicians, slum landlords, ignorant publicans, and unemployed workers on the hunt for Corporation jobs.

He also knows that the patriotic orators one was a sweating employer, like Mr. P. White, M. P., who declared that the wages he will pay for a certain class of work "must depend upon the circumstances of the workers," meaning thereby that the more miserable the condition of the persons seeking work, the lower the wages he would force them to accept.

And that another orator—say, Lord Mayor Harrington, tenement house owner, and large shareholder in various slave-driving capitalist concerns—practised in the capital the landlordism he effected to denounce in the country.

And knowing these things the town worker reads the "patriotic" orations with his tongue in his cheek, and when the U. I. L. collecting boxes come around he dives his hand into his pocket—and keeps it there.

An amusing instance of this fact was to be found in the "Nannetti Testimonial." This was an appeal to the workers of all Ireland on behalf of Mr. Nannetti, M. P., who had distinguished himself as a bootmaker for the middle class politicians. All the Home Rule press endeavored to boom his fund, glowing reports of progress appeared in the papers, the trade unions were circled, but alas! to no avail; the sum realized was so insignificant that the promoters were ashamed to make the amount known. We recommend Mr. Nannetti, M. P., as an encouragement to the Manchester Irish, to publish the amount of his testimonial.—"The Workers' Republic," Dublin, Ireland.

PATERSON VIGILANTES.

Paterson, N. J., June 29.—Under the guise of getting rid of anarchists, the Vigilance Committee here is preparing to make life uncomfortable for all of those who have taken a leading part in the recent strikes. The Vigilance Committee is a mysterious affair. No one seems to know who belongs to it, and it holds its meetings as stealthily as it claims the anarchists hold theirs.

According to the local press, the committee held a meeting yesterday to discuss and adopt preliminary plans.

A list of names of men who are known to have been active in the strikes was submitted, and the chairman of the committee was empowered to communicate with the shop owners and all others in whose employ these men are now or have been requesting them to hereafter refuse employment to such persons. This, it is expected, will be a very effective means of ridding the city of the "strike evil."

The committee is anxious to secure the name of every strike leader in Paterson and it asks the co-operation of all citizens who can furnish information which will tend "to prove the utterance of threats or complicity in plots, meeting places where suspicious characters congregate, and the identification of rioters." The "law upholding" committee announces that its members are possessed of courage and determination, but they desire first to give "anarchists" an opportunity to leave the city peacefully and quietly.

Violence will be used to accomplish this, if necessary. The committee has not yet taken advantage of the proposition to have its members sworn in as special policemen or special deputies, but it will do so as soon as the time for the application of its plans has arrived. These numbers will undoubtedly have thugs hired for the purpose.

The United Trades and Labor Council of Paterson has adopted resolutions saying that the blame for the occurrences of Wednesday, June 18, rests "with the employing dyers, who have imported and employed thousands of foreigners, ignorant of the laws and institutions of this Republic."

The resolutions also ask the Mayor to use his influence in removing the militia, "since their presence does not tend to bring about a speedy settlement of the existing troubles, but serves as a disgrace to the city of Paterson."

Corporal Frank McFeely, of the militiamen assigned to duty at the Bamford mill, in Cliff street, has thrown a bomb into the "law and order" camp by calling the attention of the factory inspectors to violation of the law relative to child labor, in a letter to Governor Murphy, in which he requests him to "force the factory inspector of this district to do special guard duty at this kindergarten institution."

PUSHING THE FIGHT.

CANADIAN S. L. P. BATTLING FOR
FREE SPEECH.

Chief Justice Meredith Reverses Decision of Lower Court—Capitalist Press Rages in Vain—Attempts to Befuddle the Public.

Hamilton, Ont., June 27.—The Socialist Labor Party of Canada wins the first "round" in its fight with the law jugglers of capitalism.

On June 6, the conviction against Gordon, the S. L. P. nominee for the Toronto house, who was arrested for exercising the right of free speech, was quashed. Chief Justice Meredith overruled the decision against Gordon when it was reviewed at Osgoode Hall. This action virtually proves that Gordon was CONVICTED FOR THE VIOLATION OF A LAW WHICH NEVER EXISTED on the municipal statutes of this city!

When the enemies of free speech became aware of the decision in Toronto they indulged in all sorts of twistings and contortions of facts to bemuddle the public as to what had in reality taken place. The journalistic slush-buckets of capitalism stated that although the decision against Gordon had been quashed, it was upon a "technicality," and the Socialists were therefore "not in a position to crow yet," as they would be arrested if they attempted to hold any more meetings irrespective of whether they had the right or not!

The S. L. P. however, paid little attention to the rantings of these tools of the capitalist class. Acting under the best legal advice to be obtained in Canada, the party held a meeting on the old stamping ground (the Gore), four days after the decision in our favor, and the self same day's "case," two (2) was enlarged for a week (without our consent).

The meeting was of the usual kind, orderly and without interruption from the police or any other source.

Albert there were quite a number of sight-seers who anticipated trouble from the police; they were disappointed, however, for the police had received orders to keep their hands off, so they went away back and fell on themselves!

Next day the capitalist mouthpieces wanted to know how it was that the Socialists were allowed to exercise their constitutional right when they had always been arrested before?

They are still asking that question! The party has since conducted a series of regular street meetings without interruptions.

On Tuesday, the 23d inst. Gordon and Roadhouse, whose case had previously suffered several enlargements (with and without their consent), were sent up for trial upon a criminal indictment as a "nuisance!"

Bail was fixed at \$300 each. Thus commences round number two with the capitalist law. Again we expect to win out; but in the event of the decision going against us, we do not propose to lie down, if backed financially and morally by Comrades and sympathizers in Canada and the United States; but will carry this case to the Privy Council if necessary.

The capitalist City Council are now endeavoring to gerrymander a malicious by-law through, to stop the S. L. P. This may have to be fought also.

IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND.

Scheme to Build Up Boston as Port of Entry.

Boston Mass., July 1.—The presence in this city recently of Marshall Field, the Chicago multi-millionaire, and A. Stewart Appleton, of New York and London, served to revive local interest in the proposition to colonize New England with large numbers of mechanics and farmers from Europe. Apparently it is the intention of the promoters of the big emigration enterprise to divert to New England, by way of this port, a large number of emigrants of the class referred to, who are certain to come to the shores of America during the next few years.

It is understood that already the Boston and Albany, Maine Central and Bangor and Aroostook roads, whose territory presents the most attractive field for the intending emigrants, have been approached by the promoters, and have expressed their willingness to aid in the matter of advertising New England's attractions abroad. Illustrated pamphlets, describing the agricultural and industrial resources of New England, will be published in four or five different languages, including German, Russian, French, Spanish and Scandinavian, and these will be scattered broadcast in the principal European countries.

The Populist party is practically wiped out in name as well as in fact. In South Dakota the Fusion ticket will appear on the ballot as Democratic. Two or three Pops are dissatisfied, but their dissatisfaction does not count, as they are so few in number that they could not elect a dog catcher, even though they worked as a unit, and there were 16 other tickets in the field.

Congress, it is announced, will adjourn on the Fourth of July. Why desecrate the day in such a manner?

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

A REVIEW OF MODERN CAPITALIST CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES IN THIS COUNTRY.

Except in times of crisis there is no subject, perhaps, in which most of the people working for wages manifest so little interest as the "General Economic Situation." Even concerning the actual conditions and prospects in their respective trades they are, as a rule, ill-informed if informed at all, and know but little of the underlying causes which affect their special "labor market."

There is, of course, a reason for this, as there is for everything. And it obviously lies in the wage system itself. So long as the victims of that system do not see their way out of it; so long as they accept it as a finality, they must naturally care little for causes over which they have no control, however much they may care for the consequent effects upon their own individual beings. Against these effects they may "protest" and occasionally rebel when beyond endurance; all to no purpose, since their helplessness increases with the growing power of the very causes that they care not to know and cannot therefore reverse.

To such as are still in that state of blindest ignorance the only "economic" question is the "practical" one, whether they, individually, will have "work" to-morrow; and the only reply worth their mulling in the brief one, "Yes," or "No." In the political season comes the capitalist mouthpiece and somewhat extends their "vision" beyond the "practical" to-morrow; shows them the Democratic or Republican hell into which they must fall, and inversely the Republican or Democratic paradise into which they will rise, according to the vote they may cast on election day. Upon matters of such pure fancy they naturally divide; they vote according to the vision that has most impressed itself upon their distracted senses, forget all about it and remain anyhow in the practical hell of wage slavery.

Not so, however, with the smaller but steadily growing body of wage-workers, who, though "class-conscious," do not accept as a finality that mental helplessness of their class, upon which alone depends the duration of its economic ills. They WILL have light; they want the facts, even so repelling to the untrained comprehension by the abstract nature of their arithmetic expression; for they understand that every economic fact has a meaning in the development of that capitalist inferno in which they must live and suffer until their blind fellows can be made to see. And they know, moreover, that upon themselves alone, as pioneers of emancipation, now devolves this hard work, this difficult task of eye-opening and mind-stirring.

Realizing as they do the inevitableness of the class struggle in any society divided into privileged and dependent classes; perceiving clearly that the "natural relations" under capitalism constitute a permanent and irrepressible state of warfare between the possessors and the dispossessed, they understand also that the warfare the first rule is to be well informed on the positions and movements of the enemy, not only on the battle field, but in the whole course of its operations. To supply them with this information is one of the chief functions of THE PEOPLE. A large space is therefore given daily in its columns to the recording of occurrences in the capitalist world. This may usefully be supplemented from time to time by a general view of the "Economic Situation," enabling the reader to measure the distance covered, to observe the direction of the movement, to conceive the magnitude of the forces in motion, and to form an intelligent opinion of possibilities and probabilities for a future more distant than he could otherwise venture to explore.

Let it be stated, at the outset, that from the capitalist viewpoint the present prosperity is unexampled, the business sky practically cloudless and the speculative prospect brighter even than the rest recent.

But in that masterly picture of capitalist happiness must be noted also the neutral tints and dark shadows in the background, which, by the rules of chiaroscuro admirably set off its bright colors. According to the highest authorities in "business economics" the working class should fully appreciate its present conditions and enjoy them to the possible utmost. At no time in the future can it expect to be better employed or better paid. As to the middle class, it stands fairly on its puny legs, owing to the rise of prices, a good portion of which is allowed to fall in its narrow pockets; hence fewer failures than had been recorded for a long time.

Having summed up to begin with, we may pass to details.

Calculated at its value on the last market—that is, at the prices paid for the various commodities by those who consume or use them—the total annual production of the United States is now well above the apparently enormous sum of twenty billions of dollars (\$20,000,000,000). Of this vast amount of wealth the wage workers, who produced about nine-tenths of it, received less than one-fifth; if proper deductions be made of the sums they must pay back, as rent, to the capitalist class for the two feet square which each of them occupies on its planet. Another quarter may be set down as the share of the farming and commercial middle-classes; leaving one-half or two thousand millions—in the

numerically small but financially great plutocracy. To be sure, a billion dollars a year is a pretty round income, although were it divided equally between the 200,000 individuals who, either by their wealth or by their functions as representatives of capitalism in its highest form, are entitled to rank among the plutocrats, it would give each of them \$50,000 only to live upon and save for the rainy day. But leaving aside the per capita nonsense the question arises, "What becomes of that couple billion?"

The capacity of the average plutocrat to waste wealth is an admitted fact. That it is greater than his ability to "save," is demonstrated statistically by his own census agents. In the ten fiscal years ending on the 30th of June, 1900, the total accumulation of wealth in the United States was at the annual rate of 3,000 millions, whereas the annual waste of the plutocracy alone was double that sum. Nevertheless, the time had already come in 1900 when this class could no longer waste enough to meet the growing production. During the five years' crisis that followed the crash of 1893, its inventors and engineers had immensely increased the productive power of its machinery, while its bankers had steadily advanced the concentration of its industries. The cost of labor had fallen accordingly and the purchasing power of the working class had proportionately decreased, thereby increasing the available surplus. But it was then found that in several branches of manufacture America was able to compete with the most advanced nations on their own markets. Exports of this kind increased "enormously," and so did the "balance of trade" in favor of the United States; so that not only the surplus of American merchandise, but the surplus of American dollars found an outlet abroad. Wall Street, long indebted to foreign investors, found itself leaning money to England for the subjection of South Africa, to Switzerland for the purchase of her railroads from the great companies that had become a danger to the little middle class republic, to German cities for municipal improvements, etc. At the same time the result of the war with Spain was opening new vistas to our plutocracy in the Antilles, in the Philippines, in China.

The dream of universal empire took possession of the plutocratic brain. The American Plutus gave his intellectuals "carte blanche" to carry it out and went his way to Daan, raising gold in her lap. As everything "economic" was on a new level, so was his wasteful expenditure. But the profits were enormous and his intellectuals, not to speak of his wage slaves, wrought out prodigies. Morgan—the great Morgan, greater by far than Cagliostro—struck with his wand the scattered limbs of the steel industry, and lo! behold a mighty giant of one billion power. This was only the beginning.

Observe that miracle workers of the Morgan type do not use their wand recklessly. Money-like, they don't strike a rock from which no water is likely to flow. Our man fully realized that before undertaking in earnest the invasion of the European markets the American industries must undergo a process of financial consolidation and productive development which will require a number of years to accomplish its object. We doubt, in fact, that he ever contemplated the possibility of such an international competition as the invasion in question would necessarily involve. We would rather believe that, fully conscious of the international solidarity of finance, his aim is simply to bring about an international consolidation. In this opinion—which we always entertained, because it is the only one that is justified by the ascertained laws of capitalist evolution—we are confirmed by all his known schemes and acts since the trustification of the steel industry. Nothing indeed can be more significant in this respect than his marked success in the extraordinary enterprise of uniting under the same financial flag maritime companies of the English, German, Dutch and American nationalities.

Of course, the old precept of international politics, that in order to have peace one must prepare for war, applies under capitalism with still greater force than it did under feudalism. The Morgan school never lost sight of it. With all the owners of government at its command, it keeps up a high tariff wall to "protect" its domestic markets, demands a subsidy for its commercial marine, and "patriotically" insists upon the building up of a formidable navy. At the same time its activity in the industrial field is intense and ceaseless. On the surface little else appears of it than the combination and trustification of those powerful agencies of production and transportation which have already reached the point where their consolidation is not only possible but necessary. And this, by the way, requires a comparatively insignificant outlay. But under the surface its unperceived action is infinitely greater. There—seemingly independent of its control, and assuming a temporary form of division which is dishonestly or stupidly heralded by its journalistic mouthpieces as an obvious symptom of competition revival—actually takes place the further industrial expansion of the United States, the further development of its natural resources, the opening of new fields above and below ground, and the closer weaving of our vast network of communication and transportation over large areas or in populous districts heretofore insufficiently provided. And there, of course, flows the bulk of the "savings" of that idle plutocracy that swarms by Morgan and whose multiple agents in this work of infinite variety, in this creative work which must supplement the

trustification already effected and precede further consolidation, are simply, of necessity, the direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious, instruments of the indissolubly Morganized plutocratic interests. This is important; its perfect comprehension is essential to a clear view of the present economic situation. Let us illustrate it with a few figures.

From the carefully prepared compilations of the "Journal of Commerce" it appears that, from 1830 to 1901, both years inclusive, the capitalization of consolidated corporations aggregated 6,474 millions of dollars. Yet, "the process of amalgamating these pre-existing corporations, the amount of bona fide new capital thrown into the mergements did not exceed 300 millions." In other words their aggregate means of carrying on their operations including plants, stocks of materials and merchandise, credits, cash on hand, etc.—were already such before their amalgamation, that they did not require an addition of more than 300 millions to their capital in order to reach the highest possible degree of industrial development and commercial power contemplated by the amalgamators. Observe that the amount of "water" in the capitalization is not here to be considered at all. The essential point, the only point of interest in the present calculation, is that in the twelve years in question, trustification absorbed only 300 millions from the "savings" of the plutocracy. That is, to be sure, a very small sum as compared with the investments in other enterprises, many of which, however—such as railroads—are actual trusts, or monopolies, from their very foundation. Its comparative insignificance cannot be exactly stated for the period covered by the "Journal of Commerce," because the census returns of 1900 are not yet available, and will anyhow be incomplete for this purpose. But an idea of it may be formed from further data supplied by the same capitalist organ. Taking together the year 1901 and the first five months of 1902, the new companies formed with a capital of one million and upwards in the four States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maine, aggregated a sum of nearly 2,000 millions. Observe that this figure includes only one of the New England States, none of the Western, Southern and Pacific States, and excludes also Pennsylvania.

From the above facts and comments the reader may already conceive the nature and intensity of the momentum imparted to American capitalism by the new conditions of its technical, financial and administrative machinery, naturally supplemented by the cheapening of its labor. It goes without saying that all the new enterprises are started on this new plane, and need not sacrifice any portion of their means by casting into the melting pot or sending to the junk shops any portion of costly machinery, valuable a few years ago, now antiquated and worthless. The result is a prodigious activity in the steel works and machine shops, without, however, a corresponding increase of labor employment in their fundamental branches of industry, when not only old machinery but skilled labor was first discarded. So great is the domestic demand for their products, that, far from invading the foreign markets, the steel magnates of America are now inviting to their hospitable shores the foreign pig iron and deploring, no doubt, the lack of elasticity in the customs tariff. (Of the "declining exports" bugaboo we shall have occasion to speak later on.) According to the Pittsburgh Gazette of June 20, "the steel rail business that has been placed for 1903 delivery transcends all previous records. The United States Steel Corporation alone has booked orders for between 500,000 and 600,000 tons. . . . Its Illinois mills are practically sold out for 1903. This is an extraordinary condition of things. . . . The demand for railroad equipment was never before so heavy as it is today. Similar reports, still more significant in certain respects, come from such typical works in electrical machinery as the Westinghouse of Pittsburgh and the Edison of Schenectady. Manifestly American capitalism will soon be well enough prepared for war to impose peace on its own Morganic terms.

Then war to the workmen of two continents! Yes, who knows? There are times in the life of nations—times of stupendous crises—when Human Progress, provoked beyond endurance, suddenly takes a long step that shakes the earth. Mighty despots then crumble into dust under the weight of their own infamy.

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THE FUTURE 18th MARCH.

The bourgeoisie has and can only have national celebrations. Socialism is the only organization—excepting Christianity—which holds international celebrations—those of the First of May and the Eighteenth of March. Socialists of both hemispheres celebrate the 18th of March, because for the first time in history the working class, allied with bourgeois revolutionists, captured political power, and because the Commune is the augury of future victory.

The bourgeoisie of Europe and America, who—because they are now reaping the profits of this war of extermination—have applauded the massacres of bloody week, recognizing that the revolution of the 18th of March had threatened their privileges. Thiers and the bourgeoisie of Versailles showed then how to drown in blood the claims of the workers. For a long time the capitalists believed that with the Commune had closed for all time the history of Socialism. The defeat of the Commune—like that of Spartacus of old—seemed to prove the impossibility of the successful revolt of the slaves of capital. How could a working-class revolution be believed in after the experiences of the 18th of March? The Commune had possession of Paris, of the Bank of France, of the record of the public debt, munitions of war, and a heroic army, and it had for an adversary, a government dishonored by the capitulation of Paris, and yet it was conquered without the capitalist order or public credit being greatly disturbed. Let us then carry on our thefts in peace, said the capitalist, and rely on the police and the army to checkmate Socialism. It is indeed true that the Commune had the means of combat, that it would be perhaps difficult to get together again. But the insurrection of the 18th March was not and could not be a social revolution. It was an explosion of the patriotic sentiment, which at that time was incarnate in the revolutionary proletariat. The victory of Bismarck over France opened a new era of revolution for France and Europe. It is to the great honor of the men who threw themselves into the movement and have imbued it with a Socialist character. The hour of a Socialist Revolution had not struck on the 18th March, 1871.

The Socialist Party did not exist in Europe. The International had scarcely begun its work and its Parisian representatives were reactionaries. It was composed of disciples of Proudhon and Mutualists who in the International Congress constituted themselves defenders of the eternal principles of private property. One could count there hardly any communists such as Varlin and Malou. The working class of France was too much absorbed by the political fight against the Empire to interest itself about Socialism. It had forgotten that it had sacrificed its own interests in order to devote itself to those of the Republican bourgeoisie; it had no working class leaders; it was proud of placing itself behind the bourgeois leaders.

The working class did not count as a political force. When were seen at the head of the Revolution of the 18th of March, workmen such as Varlin, Malou, Arvil, Franckel, just as much unknown as the revolutionary Socialists Fridon and Vaillant, the country which had been disconcerted by the turn the movement was taking, was quite stupefied. Paris up to that time in revolt had made a revolution for France, but the 18th March announced itself at first a Communist Revolution, seeking only, demanded only, the autonomy of Paris.

Moreover, the working class of Paris and of the Departments was not ready for a social revolution, and a social revolution does not result from one day of battle. The revolutions of 1830, 1848, and of 1872, were only Parliamentary crises more or less dramatic, the political power remaining always in the hands of the bourgeoisie class, whilst that of 1870, which was a real social revolution, was prepared by a half century of ardent propaganda. To arrest as hostages, to seize the Bank of France, where would have been found the millions to buy things, Versailles, the Deputies and the Clericals, to burn the great Book of the public debt, this was the work of the bourgeoisie which would have ruined public credit, did not and could not enter into the minds of any of the leaders of the Commune or of the masses.

But the situation is far different to-day. All is ready for the triumph of the future 18th March that political and economic forces are preparing to burst forth under another form. History never repeats itself exactly. Who, in 1870, could foresee what was going to happen when the Empire declared war? The Bourgeois Republicans were in consternation, they believed firmly in the victory of the Bonapartist troops and they knew it would be followed by the transport en masse of the republicans, the lists of proscription were found in the prefecture on the 4th September, and yet, some months after the Empire was overthrown and the Commune proclaimed. The future holds in reserve other revolutions, and for twenty-five years an intense Socialist propaganda is arousing the country, making revolutionary leaders and preparing the nation for the most extreme socialist measures. There exists in the cities and in the country Socialist bodies which without the word of Communes from Paris will make the Revolution in the towns and villages, as the peasants of 1789, who, outstripping the revolutionary bourgeois of Paris, commenced the real revolution against the Nobility by burning the castles and the feudal lease papers.

The workers of the railways, of the factories, of the foundries, and the tillers of the farms will chase the capitalists and their valets, will declare national property their lands and their shops, and will demand from the revolutionary government the rates and the conditions of these great instruments of production which will be the property of all. Since the 18th March, 1871, capitalist production marches with giant steps; it created the mould in which will flow the future communistic society; it makes the men who will direct and carry out the work of the Socialist society.

All are ready, the men and the means for a social revolution. We will celebrate soon a triumph 18th March. PAUL LAFARGUE.

NEW COAL BARON.

Powderly the Figurehead of "Co-operative" Company.

They have an imposing charter on the wall of the office of the "Black Diamond Anthracite Coal Company," or, as it is known in other words: "The People's Co-operative Coal Company."

The presiding genius of the outfit is Terry Powderly, condemned labor scab, political grafter, and all round sponger on the working class. From the time he was in the K. of L., and was elected Mayor of Scranton on the strength of it, he has had a strong inclination to get into the operating business. The good things that came when he was appointed Commissioner of Immigration—from which position he was kicked out—kept him off for a while. But he now needs the money, so he is a full sized coal baron, that is as far as charters go.

They can show you many imposing maps and charts in the office, but the name of the great fakir overshadows all. This is from a prospectus they are getting out by the thousand:

The present situation has conclusively demonstrated the immediate and urgent need of a greater hard coal production. The smoke-laden condition of New York City, so soon after the commencement of the strike, certainly affords sufficient proof of the security of Anthracite Coal as well as the all important fact that the demand now equals, if it does not exceed the supply.

THIS COMPANY OWNS ONE OF THE HIGHEST HARD COAL PROPERTIES located in the heart of the great coal fields of Pennsylvania. In Schuylkill County, near Pottsville, immediately surrounded by Reading and Lehigh Valley coal land. IT HAS NO ROYALTIES TO PAY ANY ONE.

The Pennsylvania State Geological Survey and tests by prominent coal experts show that there are OVER 10,000,000 TONS OF HIGH GRADE RED ASH COAL ON THE COMPANY'S PROPERTY.

The entire issue of stock could have been underwritten or the property sold at a high price, but it is the object of MR. T. V. POWDERLY, the well-known labor leader and United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, to present to the public for the first time in history an Anthracite Coal Company that is strictly A PEOPLE'S CO-OPERATIVE COMPANY, in which the people themselves would at least have an opportunity to share in the VAST PROFITS now going entirely into the pockets of the Coal Trust. THESE PROFITS AMOUNTED TO MORE THAN \$80,000,000.00 LAST YEAR.

The head of one of the largest financial syndicates in New York, states that THIS Company owns the RICHEST UNDEVELOPED COAL FIELD in the entire state of Pennsylvania. The coal is there and nothing remains but to mine and ship it. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad crosses the property.

One of the largest wholesale coal dealers has contracted for the purchase of the production at current prices. The railroads of the State of Pennsylvania forfeit their charters by failure to transport coal that is already contracted for.

To give some idea of what an exceptional investment is offered, we call the attention of the public to the fact that the large coal companies, all of which have to lease their land and the minerals thereon, and in consequence PAY royalties of from 40 to 60 cents per ton to the landowners, make a NET PROFIT of \$1.00 PER TON, so that this Company with no royalties to pay EARNs at least \$1.40 per ton net. The operation of a breaker with a daily capacity of 1,500 tons, working 300 days, means a total shipment of 450,000 TONS A YEAR, which figuring at a profit of only \$1.00 PER TON, amounts to a total profit of 45 PER CENT. ANNUALLY on the capital stock of the Company. Working but 200 days at full capacity enables the Company TO DIVIDE among its stockholders at 30 PER CENT. PER ANNUM. All profits are to be divided quarterly.

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Powderly wrote that himself. No other person is capable of it. Those who have ever heard him deliver a "labor" speech will recognize the Powderly ring in it. There is the Colonel Seller's attitude, and the Colonel Seller's assurance. And between Sellers and Powderly, Sellers comes more near fact, but he cannot touch the other in imagination.

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THE TENEMENT DOCTOR.

A DAY WITH ONE OF THE SUMMER CORPS.

Scarcely One-fifth of Those Born in the Slums Survive—The Work of the Doctors' Hampered by the Inability of the Parents to Purchase Food and Medicine.

The Board of Health maintains a summer corps of physicians for duty in the tenement districts.

Five of the doctors are women whose duty is to attend to the ailing children. A reporter accompanied one of these doctors on her rounds one day last week.

"The scourge of the tenement houses is summer complaint," said the doctor. "It sweeps through the tenement region every summer like a devouring pestilence, and the poor little babies die off like spatters before it. It is to prevent this awful waste of human life, if possible, that the summer corps is appointed."

Her words received speedy illustration in the first floor, back, where a tenement house mother sat with a sick little boy in her arms.

"I've lost five boys before him, doctor, dear. Sure I'd like to raise him," she said, anxiously, but rather hopelessly.

"Half this awful infant mortality comes from the atrocious things they have to give their babies to eat. Come along onto the roof. We might as well go down stairs as up."

They made their way to the roof, where the "doctor lady" explained this little method of easing her work. As she goes from one house to another in the block she climbs to the top of the first house, then crosses the roof and works down the next house, and so one to the end of the block.

"They all have the same tale to tell," she said. "Three, four, five, six, seven children lost is the rule in tenement house families. The swarms of children that you see in the tenement regions are scarcely one-fifth of those that are born. There are four or five chances to one against the life of every baby born in the slums. And most of them go during the second summer. That second summer stalks like the shadow of death through the tenements. If the baby passes this trying time it generally has a constitution of iron and the stomach of an ostrich."

"Of course, you know we treat only the families that are unable to pay a doctor. They are very poor, just this side of charity, most of them. The majority of the women do as well as they can, I believe. They have nothing to do with, no conveniences, no facilities. They buy the cheapest food, they have no advantages or opportunities, and not an extra cent to spend. In that first house, for instance, there are five children and the parents—seven of them—and the man earns \$8 a week. The house was dirty, as you probably made a note of. There are things heaped about in corners in a way that was not very tidy. But what do you think you would do with five children and a sick baby on \$8 a week?"

On the way down stairs, in the next house, the doctor called to see another sick boy. This youngster had prospered under the ministrations of the "doctor lady." He was sitting up in his high chair, and when the doctor applied her stethoscope he endeavored, with a twinkle in his eye, to gather in the tubes with his two small hands. His hands being held, the doctor satisfied herself as to the conditions inside his little chest, and proclaimed cheerfully that he would be quite himself in a day or two more.

"And now will you look at Nellie, please, doctor?" said the mother. Nellie lay on a home made couch, apparently in a half stupid condition. After an examination the doctor pronounced her in danger of pneumonia. "I was afraid of it," said the mother, anxiously. "I knew she had a cold, and I've been giving her kerosene." The doctor gave directions and re-

scriptions, and said that she would be able to tell the next morning whether the child should go to the hospital or not.

"You don't look very well yourself, Mrs. Blank," she said to the mother in passing.

"I had no sleep for a week with Jonny, and last night Nellie began," said the mother, patiently. "I'm that dead for sleep that I'm like a drunken person walking around. But it only I wasn't worrying so for fear it is her fits coming back, I wouldn't mind."

"Well, you know, Mrs. Blank," said the doctor, "that I told you there was no chance to cure Nellie unless she could be sent to an institution where epileptics are treated."

"I know," said the poor mother, "but my man won't leave her be put away. She'll be seven now soon, doctor, and I'm hoping for the fits to leave her then."

"Poor thing!" said the doctor, in the hall. "She does as well as she knows how. But kerosene! It's a wonder she hasn't killed the child. And the epilepsy to leave her when she's seven years old! That's a sample of the queer superstitions you run across. And we can't say a word. If we combat these cherished illusions, they don't like it, and simply won't have us in the house; and so we may lose the chances of saving some poor little shaver."

The next call discovered the sickest child, a curly haired little girl.

"Where is her medicine?" demanded the doctor, as she felt the fluttering pulse.

"Why, I haven't been able to get the medicine, doctor," replied the woman. "What usually happens when they can't get the medicine?" asked the reporter.

"Once I told a woman that if she did not get certain medicine her child would certainly die. She replied that she was very poor. The next morning when I reached the house there was a crape on the door, and inside a little white coffin stood on a bier, and the room was full of flowers and candles. The child had been insured for \$25. They drew the money immediately on its death, and spent every cent on the funeral. There was not 25 cents to keep it alive, but there was \$25 to put it underground. The funeral is the chief social function of the tenement, and not to make a suitable display at this time is to lose caste."

One of the most pathetic cases was encountered on the fourth floor of a stuffy tenement. In a small cradle almost too weak to breathe, lay a weakened, white little scrap of a baby boy. Files were crawling distressingly in and out of the mouth of the wan and suffering mite of humanity. The doctor applied her stethoscope to the bony little chest and felt the pulse in the clamlike wrist. The doctor wrote a prescription, gave some orders and went away. The poor mother held the scrap of paper in her hand and gazed vaguely at the departing visitor.

The reporter could not see but little benefit to the poor from the well intentioned efforts of the "lady doctor." Nothing but the overthrow of the system that produces the tenement will do that.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1889..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 38,564
In 1900..... 34,191



Truth, in design, as in morals, is primarily a matter of right relations rather than of bald and isolated facts.

GUY KIRKHAM.

THE STEEL TRUST'S WAGE INCREASE.

The announcement of the Steel Trust that it will raise the wages of 100,000 of its employes ten per cent is like the gifts of the Greeks—to be taken with caution. No doubt the raise will be made and the pay roll will be increased \$4,000,000 yearly, if the Steel Trust's officials are to be believed; but that is not all that there is to the matter.

Experience has shown that in the steel and iron industry wages are rarely advanced unless production is also advanced; the latter to a greater degree than the former. Under the stimulus of the increased wages paid new records are made in output, records that show that the tonnage of iron and steel produced is increased from month to month. Side by side with this increase of output there goes also an increased death rate. Mill accidents and fatalities increase. Hospitals are endowed and sick and death benefit schemes are promoted by the steel corporations.

The representatives of foreign consulates are continually presenting claims of the heirs of the killed, and prosecuting those of the injured, men of alien birth. Experience has shown that increased wages are also given when there is an increased agitation among the iron and steel workers that is actually likely to prove unbeneficial to capitalist interests. For some time past the furnace men have been demanding a reduction of hours from 12 to 8 a day. They partly base this demand upon the fact that the eight-hour day is the one in vogue in England, this country's greatest iron and steel competitor. It is more than coincidental that the men most benefited by the increase are the furnace men. It is cheaper to advance wages ten per cent and then make it up by increased production, than it is to reduce the working hours 33 1/3 per cent.

The capitalist class is not a philanthropic class. When it gives a ten per cent increase it expects and generally gets a little more in return.

This is shown in general in the greater cost of living as compared with the relatively low increase of wages in the past five years.

Beware, therefore, not only of the gifts of the Greeks, but also of those of the capitalists.

ANOTHER FALLACY EXPLODED.

The strikes of the various employes of the Chicago packers throws a powerful searchlight upon an old and hoary capitalist teaching, to the effect that the prosperity of the employe is always measured by that of his employer. Surely, no one will deny that the Chicago packers, especially those interested in the Billion Dollar Beef Trust, have not had a prosperous time! Dun's index number of prices of commodities shows that between July, 1897, and April 1st, 1902, the price of meat increased 30.18 per cent. It is not known how much the wages of the employes of the packing houses increased during the same time. The lack of figures on that point, when taken together with the present strikes, would indicate that no increase had been granted. In fact, the continual introduction of women workers in the stock yards leads one to believe that wages instead of going up have gone down, for such is generally the case when women take the place of men.

The announcement that these strikes are but the beginning of serious industrial disturbances in the packing industry, and that a gigantic struggle between the packers and the labor organizations is imminent, does not help the beautiful teachings of capitalism any. If capitalism is so foolish as to teach ideas that are not substantiated by facts and then

twits those who do, as demagogues and falsifiers, the blame is on capitalism. It should take care to make statement and fact conform.

IDIOTIC YELLOW JOURNALISM.

The idiotic yellow Journal takes credit to itself for having driven the beef trust to the wall, causing it to form a billion dollar corporation, thus making it, in law, what it was in fact! This, undoubtedly, is another "victory" for yellow journalism!

How great a victory this is will be appreciated by the retail butchers, who have proceeded against the Beef Trust on the ground that it is an "illegal combination acting in restraint of trade." When the corporation that succeeds the Beef Trust tightens the rope of high prices around their necks and swings them from the scaffold of legal monopoly, the poor fellows, as they dangle in the air, will wonder, with their last few gasps of breath, where that great "victory" comes in?

When the workman goes to buy meat and finds that its price is gradually getting higher, while the pleasure of denouncing the Beef Trust as an "outrageous and illegal monopoly, organized for the purpose of thriving on starvation," has been taken from him through its legal incorporation, he, too, will then wonder where that great "victory" comes in?

Again, when, through "the economies effected by consolidation," the workmen, now employed by the various separate concerns forming the combine, find themselves without jobs and with reduced wages, they, too, will then wonder where that great "victory" comes in? Finally, they will conclude, let us hope, that there is no "victory" coming for them. That if there has been any victory it belongs to the idiotic yellow Journal, who, with the cunning often characteristic of the mentally deficient, has used its dupes to forward its own interests. The "victory" is the increased circulation which the yellow Journal builds up by such fraudulent means.

THE RETAIL BUTCHERS COMBINE.

The helplessness of the middle class in its fight against concentrated capital, or "the trust," is well illustrated in the formation of the New York Butchers' Dressed Meat Co. This is a \$750,000 corporation of retail butchers that is organized to fight the western packers. It is said that if the company proves "a successful venture it will put an end to the Beef Trust, so far as the vicinity of New York is concerned." Think of \$750,000 putting an end to one billion dollars! Think of these retailers with just enough capital to build an abattoir, controlling the cattle market, the transportation lines, interstate commerce law, and the numerous other trust adjuncts and putting the Beef Trust "down and out." It is to laugh!

But this is not all. The stock of the Dressed Meat Co. will be sold, with due precautions, in the open market. Already the retailers are haunted by the fact that the Trust may thus be able to buy them out. A \$750,000 corporation, after a severe struggle with a powerful billion dollar trust, in which its ability to withstand competition is demonstrated to be nil and in which its stock is consequently greatly depreciated, is generally inclined to sell stock to its conquering rival, at much, very much, below par.

Finally, we see these retailers driven into combination: the very thing against which they protested and rebelled. They are meeting concentration with concentration. And yet, the poor stupid middle class cannot read its own economic doom!

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TRUSTS.

The Democrats have declared that the remedy for trusts is the placing of trust-made products on the free list. There is nothing new about this remedy. It is the old free-trade policy adapted to new conditions. And, as such, it is based upon the old free-trade theory that in the country where there is competition from abroad there can be no trusts or monopolies. This is fallacious. England is a free-trade country, and yet it is not without trusts and monopolies. The competition which the free entry of products develops in England, far from destroying concentration, is hastening it. Especially is this true since the competitive triumph of the so-called American commercial invasion in Great Britain. Since that invasion, consolidation, on the American plan, has been frequent and is occurring from day to day. The old, loose form of amalgamation and combination, which preserved each concern distinct and intact, is being given up. Morgan and his financial methods have been adopted and applied, as the formation of the Ship Trust and its rival shows. The tariff policy of Great Britain is changing in favor of the Empire and its colonies. Competition is giving place to concentration, industrially and politically, and it is likely to do more so as time advances.

Concentration and trusts are but beginning to develop. They are growing

all over the world and have become necessary to capitalist existence. An international competition without them is a capitalist impossibility; so that were free-trade to prevail, trusts would be necessary to capitalist success. Thus, the tendencies toward concentration and trusts, observable under free-trade conditions, and the impossibilities of international competition without trusts, even under free-trade, make the Democratic remedy no remedy at all. There is but one remedy for the trust: Make it social property.

A DOUBLED-EDGED ARGUMENT.

The two old parties of capitalism are bound to thrust dead issues upon the members of the working class in order to keep them divided at the ballot box. The Republican State Conventions of Indiana and Ohio have renewed their allegiance to protection. They have depicted the "prosperity" attending its enforcement, and prophesied the dreadful times that would follow its repeal. They have declared protection to be in the interests of the "wage-workers," or the working class, and believe themselves entitled, accordingly, to their votes. The attitude of the Republicans will, no doubt, cause the Democrats to declare in favor of tariff reform or free trade.

There are, in fact, already many symptoms that that course will be pursued. The Democratic press have inveighed against the beef and other trusts and demanded a repeal of the tariff on their products. The Democratic arguments in Congress on the Ship Subsidy Bill are bursting with free trade material. One of these arguments, delivered by Latimer, of South Carolina, is, to use the slang of the street, a "beaut," for, like a double-edged sword, it cuts both ways and rips up protection and free trade fallacy alike. The argument is directed against the "cheap foreign labor" bugaboo, and is as follows:

"Mr. Mulhall, the famous statistician, gives us in one of his recent books the gross earnings per capita of labor, and he shows that in England they are twenty per cent. less than in the United States, although about 33 per cent. greater there than in some European countries. . . . The total average value of a year's production in the United States is about \$9,008 to each laborer as against \$4,106.70 in Great Britain and \$2,946 in Germany. The difference between the wages paid and the production of the average laborer in the United States is about \$1,535.76 as against \$588.06 in Great Britain and \$388.80 in Germany. It will thus be seen that while the American laborer receives higher wages than the laborer of foreign countries, the output from his labor more than doubles that of the English and trebles that of the German laborer." Thus, we are told, "well paid labor is the cheapest in the end."

This being the fact, the question naturally arises, "How will Free Trade or the importation of foreign-made goods, that cannot compete in cheapness with American-made goods, relieve the American working class from 'the domination that it implies?' Or let us put the question this way: "Since American labor produces twice as much as English, and three times as much as German labor, are not the protectionists hoodwinking the working class with their foreign competition scare?" Again, we might frame another question this wise: "In view of the facts regarding American and European wages and production, are not the American working people fools to be gulled by the dead issues of Protection and Free Trade?"

Workmen! the only issue is to get that "difference between the wages and the production of the average laborer," whether American or European. In other words the only issue is the issue of Capitalism vs. Socialism. There is none other.

Political and Economic.

Says "The Coast Seamen's Journal," under the heading "What's What?" "Even the dullest at a joke cannot fail to see the humor of the sardonic variety in the claim of the corporation lawyer to represent the corporation itself." True. And even the dullest at a joke cannot fail to see the humor of a capitalist legislator like Hanna to represent the working class, even when that claim is backed by W. Macarthur, Editor of "The Coast Seamen's Journal." That's what's really what.

"The Metal Polishers' Journal" says: "He who knows nothing is confident in everything." That accounts for the Journal's cock-sure tones.

The Republican, Democratic and Erratic press is hot on the trail of Oxnard, the successful Sugar Trust lobbyist. "The Times," which has run away from as many issues as any other paper, calls Oxnard the meaneast man in America. Why? He exemplifies perfectly the Republican theory of exclusion, both as represented in its tariff policy and its system of finance. The Democrats, for the sake of the small traders and minor money skimmers, have advocated a sort of "liberal" Sabbath in these matters, or else the complete elimination of all bounds. The Republican policy won, and Oxnard is its chief protector. Though others be misled by sentiment, and be induced to give aid and comfort to Cuba, Oxnard, swayed by the McKinley Bill—

the basis on which is built the present administration—and the Dingley Bill—which has materially aided the administration—refuses to bate one jot of his pound of flesh, and will have every dollar that is coming to him from the particular system of capitalist government that he and his fellows have been able to institute. Roosevelt may roar, but Mr. Oxnard is carrying out in all their glory and purity the principles of the G. O. P.

Bishop Quigley, of Buffalo, is going to combat Socialism. He believes Christian principles must be applied to the settlement of social questions. The Bishop should first apply his principles to his own paper, "The Catholic Union and Times," which confounds Socialism with Anarchy and otherwise maligns and misrepresents Socialism. The application of principles, like charity, begins at home.

The "Sun" says: "Mr. Cleveland likewise has reason to remember the Hon. Richard Olney with grateful emotion. For it was Mr. Olney who suggested, or inspired, or managed for him the two most creditable performances of his two terms in the White House, namely, the spirited and effective assertion of Federal authority against riotous interference by lawless men with the due process of the laws of the United States in the second city of this nation; and, secondly, the courageous notification to Great Britain that the Monroe Doctrine was in force and would be enforced with respect to the Venezuelan controversy."

The thrug of the newspaper world is evidently after blood again, even though "Big G" has declared that it is whiter than the driven snow.

The resources of the enterprising newspaper are countless. All the papers which carry illustrations have gotten in all sorts of appropriate pictures, most of them from such publications as "The Illustrated London News," "The Sketch," etc., and were prepared to spring them on the public as Coronation pictures, taken by a viewless photography, or something of that sort. The King was stricken, but the pictures could not be allowed to grow cold, so we have been showered with them as pictures of the King in the various attitudes and in various suits of clothes. The only thing that was lost was the cable dispatches written by youths with foreheads as high and full as a Grenoble walnut. But these may go later as the story of a baseball game or of a race.

"The Journal" published yesterday in its 4 o'clock edition, gotten out at 10 in the morning, five pages on the illness of the King, and the pages were built as follows:—Heads, three quarters of a page, pictures, a page and a half; surmise 1 page; rebash of the news of the previous evening 1 page; the whole was put in elephantine type so as to take up space. It could easily have been placed in three columns, and would have been much easier read. The pictures were game, and included a half page picture of the King being attended by his physicians. This, of course, was drawn from "accurate cable descriptions." Another half page was devoted to Buckingham Palace and still another to the Prince of Wales and family. Both of these have seen previous service.

A report from Germany states that the "socialist" Edward Bernstein advocates a general strike as a means of securing a system of direct election to the Prussian Diet. This report is the cause of much wonderment here. Class-conscious Socialists are asking themselves "has Bernstein some diabolical scheme up his sleeve? Is he going to conduct a strike such as Vandervelde conducted in Belgium, create a lot of rumpus, win nothing of advantage to the working class, and get considerable advertisement for himself, all of which will come in handy later on, should he conclude to inflict himself on this country as a lecturer? Or is he going to use the general strike to secure his reelection to the Reichstag, as Branting used the Swedish general strike to secure his reelection to the Ragsdag?"

The American Ice Company, which did not, or could not, furnish enough of its pecuniary product to keep the Van Wyck administration from decomposing, and thereby infecting the chances of Tammany seems to have passed its torrid day, and now to be plunged into rather cool weather, so far as earnings are concerned. It was decided Thursday to pass the dividend on the preferred stock, and those who are holding it can well place their hands on their heads and weep for the days that are no more. The Ice Trust was so thoroughly knocked out, despite the privileges granted to it, that there is reasonable excuse for doubting whether or not it will ever again be worth the good wishes and careful investigations of the Carrolls, the Van Wycks, and the Crokers of the future. But while the Ice Trust is melting, Croker does not seem to worry, or to find it necessary to leave the some one's else ancestral estate on which he now does the country gent.

SCHWAB INSPECTING.

Chicago, June 29.—Charles M. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation, accompanied by three vice-presidents and a score of department heads, spent a day at the end of last week in this city and Joliet, in the course of a tour of inspection to determine where it is best to place projected improvements estimated at more than \$10,000,000. The steel magnate was very much pleased with the South Chicago plant, and the inference has been drawn that a large part of the money will be placed there.

The proposed improvements which the steel corporation have under consideration will include a tube mill, and several additions to present plants. In the magnate's private car, Loretto, were charts and maps; which the party studied and discussed en route, in an effort to ascertain where to place these improvements to the best advantage. A map of Calumet River and a chart of the South Chicago plant were among the number. From Joliet the party went to Loral, Ohio.

THE MINERS.

John Mitchell's statement in behalf of the striking miners is a masterly justification of the demand for an increase of wages. The facts and figures which it presents constitute an unanswerable argument of the correctness of the miners' position, when viewed from the present-day standpoint of "fair wages and fair conditions."

Mitchell's statement is also something more than a justification of the miners' demand: it is a condemnation of their pure and simple organization, as the facts and figures it contains show that that organization is a futile means of combatting the workings of capitalism, and that despite its "victories" and its great membership, sustained at a great cost and sacrifice, both of treasure and life, the condition of the miners grows worse and worse.

Mitchell makes six salient points in his statements that bear out this contention fully. First, he shows that the average earnings of the miners are but \$1.42 a day. This average is, in Mitchell's own words, "less than that of any other class of workmen in the United States," and is earned under "the most intolerable and inhuman conditions imaginable." Second, Mitchell shows that the ten per cent increase gained in 1900 was "paid back to the companies by the suppression of an old powder grievance," while "according to reliable commercial agencies, the cost of living has increased, particularly in the purchase of foodstuffs, from 30 to 40 per cent., so that the purchasing power of the miners is less now than before the strike of 1900."

Third, referring to the increased productive capacity of the miner, Mitchell shows that during the year 1901 the average tonnage of coal mined was raised from 2.16 tons to 2.36 tons per employe. "There was," states Mitchell, "a decided improvement in the productive capacity of the men after they had become strongly organized." Fourth, with the increased productive capacity of the miner there went, according to Mitchell, an increase in the price of coal, from \$1.38 to \$1.78 a ton. Fifth, Mitchell shows that the miners are defrauded; that they are compelled to mine "from 2,740 to 3,190 pounds to the ton," when 2,240 pounds are a legal ton. This is required by the operators to compensate them for impurities. Yet by these means the operators obtain marketable coal, while deducting from ten to fifteen per cent. from the miners' total earnings. Sixth, and final point, Mitchell shows that the average yearly fatalities in Pennsylvania have increased from 437 in the last decade to 484 in 1901.

Thus, we have from Mitchell's own pen a statement which shows that his organization has not advanced the miners' interests one iota; that, on the contrary, it has caused those interests to decline both absolutely and relatively.

The facts above show that the miners made no gain in 1900, but lost. First, the ten per cent. increase was "paid back to the companies to buy the suppression of an old powder grievance." Second, after paying back the ten per cent. the miners increased their productive capacity about ten per cent., or, from 2.16 to 2.36 tons per miner per day. Having paid the ten per cent. back to suppress the powder grievance, the miners should have received another increase proportionate to the increased average tonnage, or about 20 per cent. in all. As it was, Mitchell's organization made the operators a present of ten per cent in wages. Considering that this present was made possible by an increased productivity in mining that was accompanied by an increased average yearly fatalities of 47 deaths—from 437 to 484—considering that during this period of increased productivity and fatality the miners were defrauded of much marketable coal, the question naturally arises "where are the much-heralded benefits to the miners of Mitchell's organization? Thus one can see that Mitchell's organization is absolutely of no benefit to the miners. If one turns to consider the matter relatively, the case is even worse. Admitting that Mitchell's organization did secure a genuine increase and that there was no powder grievance to be bought off, no increased productivity, and no increased fatalities, there remains these facts: that, against the ten per cent. increase in wages there is an increase of 30 to 40 per cent in the cost of living; and an increase in the selling price of coal amounting to 40 cents per ton. Has this ten per cent. increase been proportionate to the increased cost of living? Has it been proportionate to the increased selling price of coal? Of course not! Who wonders that under the circumstances, the average earnings of the miners are but \$1.42 a day, and that they receive less than any other class of workmen in the United States, though they labor under the most intolerable and inhuman conditions imaginable?

Mitchell's statement as we said at the outset, is not only a justification of the miners' demand: it is something more. It is a condemnation of their pure and simple organization, as the facts and figures it contains show that that organization is a futile means of combatting the workings of capitalism, and that despite its "victories" and its great membership, sustained at a great cost and sacrifice, both of treasure and life, the condition of the miners grows worse.

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railroads were getting hit by a boomerang of their own throwing.

This mutual calling of names, this resort to the gentle innuendo, to the retort courteous and to the statistical refutation, is rather amazing to those who had been led to believe by John Mitchell and the railroad presidents that the interests of capital and labor (meaning by capital the capitalist class, of course) were one and inseparable and destined to endure to the end of all time. It certainly looks as if this arraying of figures, first on one side, then on the other, this resort to the amiable arts of argument, which are often more deadly in their effects than the logic of a brick or a club, since they create wrong conclusions, prejudice, conflict and strife, was a reflex of something that was decidedly separate and conflicting, and only likely to endure so long as one side or the other refused to cry out "Enough!"

To the class-conscious Socialist this bandying about of veiled epithets, this decorous manner of giving the lie, is but another indication of the class struggle raging in modern capitalist society: a struggle which is always the same, whether it is conducted with the literary polish and finish of an academic discussion or whether it is fought out with hired thugs, barricades and armored trains.

THE PATERSON TRIUMPH.

The spontaneous refusal of the 10,000 silk workers of Paterson to work last Saturday, as a protest against the unwarranted and illegal sending of troops to that city, was a splendid rebuff to the capitalist class and a demonstration of the economic power of the working class. The sending of the troops was calculated to have an entirely different effect. It was thought that their presence would intensify the "riots" previously provoked by the mill owners, thus justifying the summary squelching of the strikers and the strike. It was likewise believed that the troops would so overawe and terrify the strikers that the strike would collapse.

Neither of these desired ends have been attained. Instead of successful intimidation there has been a practical extension of the strike; while with the increase in the number of strikers involved there has come an increased absence of riots. The politicians are seeking to shift the responsibility of having summoned the militia; and the mill-owners are plainly chagrined.

This triumph of class-consciousness and of the working class of Paterson cannot but excite the admiration of every advocate and member of the working class. This triumph cannot but elicit his or her hearty applause and admiration. But, it would be wise to reserve a final opinion on the matter. Such a triumph may be but temporary. It may be, and most likely is, but one of the favorable incidents and turns that occur in the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class; a struggle in which the capitalist class, by means of the agencies of the state, which it controls, finally becomes the victor.

It is necessary then to point out how much better the position of the workers of Paterson would be were those agencies of the state on their side and in control of the working class. With an economic organization controlling the workers in the shop, and with a political organization controlling the public functions—the mayor, police, militia, etc.—in the interests of those workers, the workers of Paterson and elsewhere would be invincible.

It is the aim and object of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party to develop a politico-economic organization which will thus organize the working class wherever found in this country.

The vast majority of the workmen of Paterson are not anarchists. They realize the power of economic organization, as their strikes denote. They realize the power of the state. They have felt that power in their midst heretofore and will feel it frequently hereafter, if they continue in their present course. They can supplement the powers of their economic organization with the powers of the state. They can insure success, make themselves invincible, by forming locals of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and by voting the principles of the Socialist Labor Party.

Only thus and thus only will they be assured of a victory free from reverses and defeat. If this lesson is learned, then the Paterson triumph will be a triumph indeed!

TOM L. SARCASTIC.

Cleveland, O. June 29.—Mayor Tom L. Johnson gave out a signed statement relative to the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court declaring the Federal plan of municipal government unconstitutional. Mr. Johnson's letter says in part:

"The ouster proceedings has its origin with cheap politicians, backed by interests opposed to the things the city administration stood for. It would have ended there but for the action of Attorney General Sheets, with the advice and consent, I am informed of the State Administration.

"Without the approval of Attorney General Sheets no case could have been brought in the Supreme Court, and after this suit was begun he refused to comply with the request of Cincinnati attorneys to test the Cincinnati law. It was an attempt to play politics, but the result will show that it was poor politics. The entire responsibility rests with Attorney General Sheets and his advisers.

"The important question is, however, what shall be done? I believe the Supreme Court should be praised rather than blamed for its courageous decision. It was the timidity of their predecessors that made possible so much special legislation."

In conclusion Mr. Johnson declares that it has been demonstrated that the Federal plan of municipal government is the best that can be devised. He expressed the hope that it will be adopted for the government of all Ohio cities at the special session of the Legislature.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

UNCLE SAM.—I have a conundrum for you.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—What is it?

U. S.—What class of people ought to be the happiest in the world?

B. J.—Give it up; ask me something easy.

U. S.—The working people.

B. J.—Are you guying me?

U. S.—No, indeed.

B. J.—The working people! If I were, to pick out the unhappiest class, I would pick out that. They are the most thoroughly disinherited of any disinherited. Not only are they deprived of the inheritance left to the world by previous generations, they are also deprived of the inheritance they themselves produce! What are you giving me?

U. S.—I repeat—"the working people." I do not say they WERE, I said they OUGHT to be the happiest. Now look you here into this little scrap book; I have here collected all the expressions with regard to them that I could find from the rulers of all nations.

Here is Lord Salisbury; he says of his party: "We should do nothing without considering the welfare of the working people; upon their welfare depends the welfare of all of us."

Here is King Humbert of Italy, who declares: "The well being of the Italian workers is my perpetual concern." Here is Cleveland, who announces: "The hard earned wages of the laboring man must not be allowed to be taken from him. I shall do all in my power to put down the system that robs the masses of their products."

Here is the Queen of Spain, who weepingly says: "The workers' welfare is as close to my heart as that of the only son my lamented husband has left me."

Here is our own Ex-Governor Flower.

"The man who wields the hammer, the plow, and the saw, the man who with the sweat of his brow earns his living, is the bone and sinew of our great and glorious Republic, and is the main object of the solicitude of our laws."

Here is Casimir Perier, the coal mine baron, and Ex-Premier of France: "The workers must be protected from the schemes of the men who would rob and enslave them."

That is as far as I have got; is not that enough to prove my point? The class of people whose welfare is the universal object of solicitude on the part of the ruling class—that class should certainly not be in poverty, it should be rioting in happiness. Eh! ??

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN exchange glances and walk off with their heads down.

A "LABOR" CANDIDATE

